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A Christian Journal of Opinion

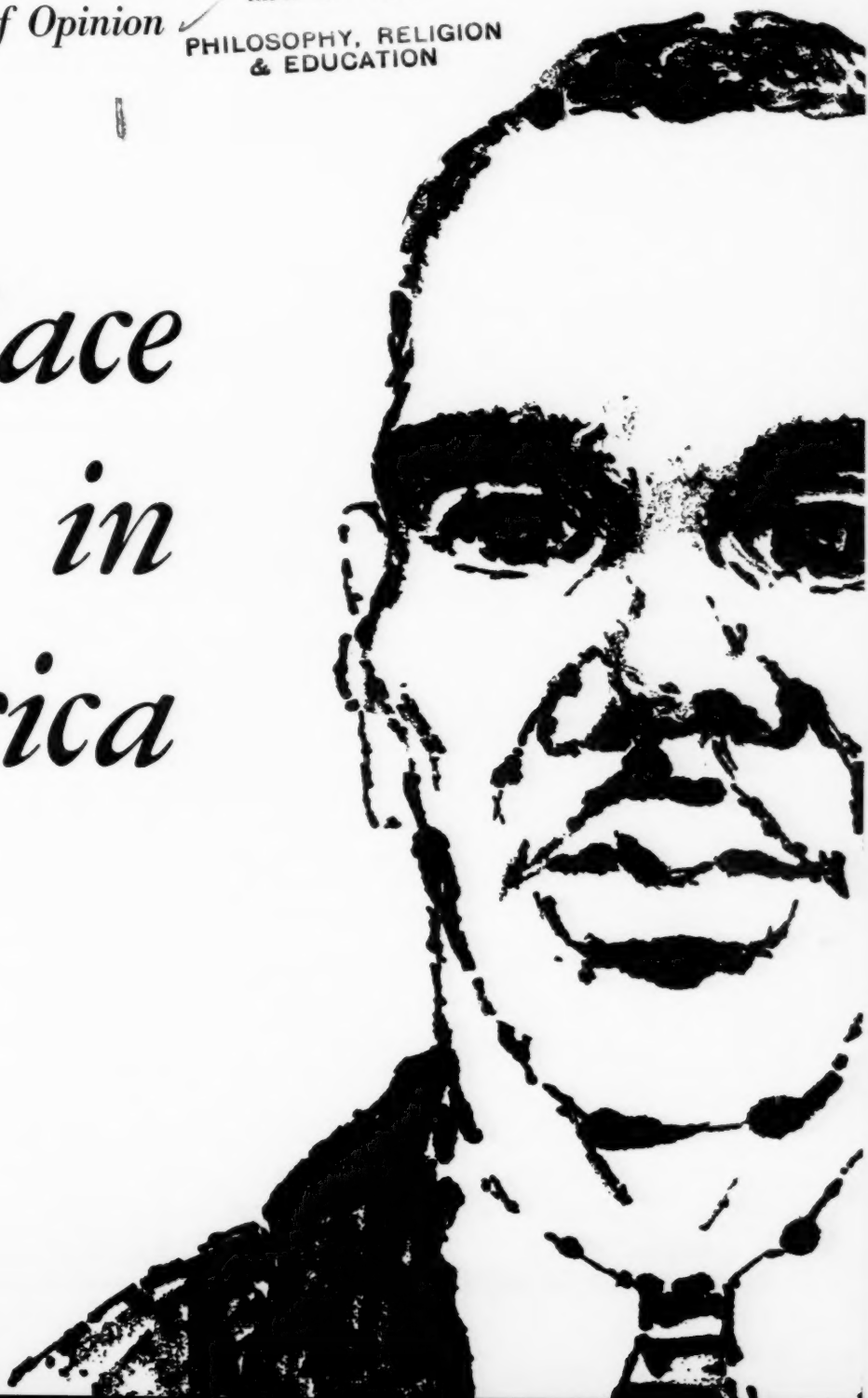
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Vol. XXI, No. 9, May 29, 1961
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stand up?

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THE BURNING ISSUE

NEW MOODS are rising among American Negroes—no doubt about it. Nothing historical is absolutely new, and the present ferments have their antecedents. But the tempo of change in Negro self-consciousness is swift. James Baldwin, the brilliant Negro novelist and essayist, can talk of "history's strangest metamorphosis" as a fact among Negroes in the United States today.

The extent of the transformation becomes evident in one symbolic fact. Only two years ago many a self-styled white "moderate" enjoyed defining his position as the middle ground between such extremes as the White Citizens' Councils and the NAACP. That was always a hypocritical stance, since the Councils were defying or avoiding constitutional law while the NAACP sought court enforcement of law. Today only the blindest of people will try the old gambit. The new Negro spirit makes many a segregationist long for the good old days when the NAACP looked radical.

Our society has always forced its Negroes to have a strong racial self-consciousness. Whether he wanted to vote, go to school, get a job, find a place to live, ride a bus, buy a hamburger, or visit the movie, the Negro had to remember his race. The change is not that the Negro is acquiring racial self-consciousness. It is that the consciousness long imposed is now claimed. Increasingly he accepts his identity, not as a humiliating necessity, but as a symbol of a demand—perhaps a militant demand—for justice.

The most temperate aspect of the new spirit is represented in the leadership of Martin Luther King, a man of generous yet determined purpose. The Montgomery bus boycott was a great event in the progress of the Negro. Although the impasse actually was broken by a judgment of the Supreme Court, the impact upon the American mind was that of a disciplined people struggling without spite and with tactics that shamed the cheap devices of their opponents. The poise and grace of Dr. King gave many a colored man new pride in being a Negro, many a white man new pride in being human.

Martin Luther King remains both a powerful symbol and a genuine person, but he may be too ungrudging in attitude, too Christian in spirit to maintain his leadership in a conflict where Christian ethics has had little impact in our national history. The college students, who have conducted their sit-ins with a combination of resolution and restraint, recognize him as a symbol but not as their leader. They are producing their own leaders, as Dr. King no doubt wants them to do.

Meanwhile, a far more radical leadership, emerging in the metropolitan ghettos of the North, is extending its influence. It rises partly out of long-buried frustration, partly out of identification with the new African nations. Seeing men of their race pushing colonial powers out of Africa, Negroes are discontent with continuing injustice at home.

The Black Muslims, African Nationalists and other movements speak for Negroes tired of "deliberate speed" that is mostly deliberate and "token integration" that is mostly token. Gradualism, often a fancy word for stalling, looks increasingly inappropriate in a revolutionary world.

The protest movements have their frightening aspects. They have embarrassed the very leaders friendliest to liberal causes, witness the demonstration during Adlai Stevenson's address to the General Assembly and the repeated heckling of Hubert Humphrey at a recent celebration of African Freedom Day. Sympathetic white persons have lately felt the ominous tone of street gatherings in Harlem.

One question arises: Will Negroes adopt the intransigence formerly the exclusive mark of white segregationists? The heightened awareness of Negro power need not *necessarily* move in that direction. We need not worry that a white person probably *cannot* now be elected Borough President of Manhattan—if this situation is a station stop on the way from denial of Negro rights to elections where race is unimportant. But more disturbing forces are at work. If they prevail, resentful whites will have to admit that the wages of past sin is present pain if not death. Hopefully for all they may not prevail.

The only Christian goal is a society in which men meet men instead of races meeting races. But there is some promise if, en route, we enter a time when race meets race, neither in apology nor in defiance.

A white man inevitably writes about these events too glibly, too dispassionately. But let this editorial and this issue of *Christianity and Crisis* be taken as an honest attempt at understanding the burning issue in American society today. R. L. S.

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Universal Suffrage for Negroes*

HAROLD C. FLEMING

IT IS one of the ironies of history that a nation which fought a fratricidal war to make citizens of slaves did so little for so long to confer upon them the elementary right to cast a meaningful ballot. During Reconstruction and for a short interval afterward, Negroes were permitted a voice in the tortured political affairs of the South. But soon, in the name of white solidarity, the leadership imposed racial restrictions on the right to vote. And shortly after the turn of the century the Negroes' political voice was completely stilled.

There is no point in reviewing here the long period—more than half a century—of Negro disfranchisement in the South and complacency about it in the rest of the United States. One observation is worth making, however. That version of American history which magnifies the corrupting influence of Reconstruction politics and carpetbag rule in the post Civil War South is still taught in many a public school. But we have not yet begun to measure the corrupting influence on our whole nation of the cynical denial of citizenship rights to Negroes for so many years. Southern politics, down to the present day, has been contorted into strange and undemocratic shapes in the name of white supremacy. In consequence, the political life of the nation itself has been crippled.

The Fruits of Disfranchisement

We are concerned here with universal suffrage for Negroes. Wherever in the United States Negroes live in significant numbers, they are subject to discriminations of many sorts. But outside certain areas of the South, denial of the right to vote is not one of them. Therefore, this analysis deals for the most part with the South.

As an initial step toward examining the consequences of universal suffrage for Negroes, it is useful to look briefly at the fruits of disfranchisement.

First, we might note the entrenchment of the one-party system in the South. This uncompetitive arrangement made possible a politics in which the peculiar insularity of the region persisted for a

dangerously long time. National issues and national interests were seldom debated or considered by the Southern voter; instead, he was beguiled by colorful personalities intent on outbidding each other in appeals to white superiority. The attention of the voting public was often diverted from flagrant abuses of the public trust and misuses of public funds by loud incantations against the threat allegedly posed by the Negro.

Such devices as the poll tax and Georgia's uniquely discriminatory county unit system were fastened on the Southern states as safeguards against Negro invasions of the political sphere. Yet over the long decades when there was not even a question of Negro participation in the Democratic primaries, these devices served only to dampen enthusiasm and deny opportunity to white Southerners. This, of course, had the effect of keeping the electorate small, preserving rural dominance, and making the outcome of elections subject to ready manipulation—effects which soon came to be ends in themselves for the more expert practitioners.

The rest of the country, which tended to view these perversions of democracy with indifferent contempt, was heavily victimized by them. The United States Congress, most particularly the Senate, is only now struggling out of its bondage to backward looking Southern officeholders whom shrunken electorates return again and again to positions of power and tenure in the nation's lawmaking body. It is only fair to say that many of these have had real ability, and a few have been men of truly statesmenlike quality. But with fractional exceptions, they have been men who knew the conditions of their power and paid in full the price of obstruction and illiberalism that the Southern systems exacted from them.

Opposition to welfare programs, lest the Negro obtain a proportionate share of benefits; to labor unions, lest the Negro gain equality within them; to Federal aid to the South's impoverished education, lest conditions be attached that would foster integration; opposition to housing legislation, lest the Negro gain the right to live next door to whites;

MR. FLEMING is Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, which recently sent the President a significant 18 point proposal for the use of executive power in furthering civil rights.

*This article is based on an address to the Institute for Religious and Social Studies at Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City.

opposition to reapportionment of rurally dominated legislatures, lest the Negro voters of the cities wield proportionate influence—such has been the opposition to progressive measures justified on racial grounds. Meanwhile, the prestige of the United States abroad has suffered as the spectre of racism has stalked the land.

The effects of disfranchisement on Negro Southerners themselves have been as numerous as they have been cruel. During the half-century and more of complete votelessness, they were dependent on the whims and kindly impulses of white officeholders for the disproportionately small share of public benefits allotted to them—in education, health, welfare, recreation, police protection, and, by extension, in housing and employment.

These deprivations have a self-perpetuating quality. The man who is ill-educated, ill-housed, ill-fed, whose very survival depends on subservience, who has been taught from the cradle that "politics is the white folks' business" is hardly likely to assert his rights with zeal and persistence. If he does, he will find that his educational deficiencies and cultural backwardness are crushing arguments against his enjoyment of those rights. Even Negroes with graduate degrees still find in parts of the South that they cannot meet the high standards of local voting registrars.

Fortunately, albeit slowly and painfully, the era of disfranchisement is drawing to a close. It is easy to lose sight of the fact that Negroes gained the legal right to participate in the meaningful elections of the South only a decade and a half ago. The Texas case of *Smith v. Allwright*, decided in 1944, sounded the death knell of the white primary. Within a few years this and subsequent court rulings wiped from Southern statute books virtually all discriminatory voting laws.

"the paucity of change"

In 1940 there were an estimated 200,000 Negroes registered in the South, most of them qualified to vote only in the unimportant general election—unimportant, that is, in terms of state offices. By 1947 there were an estimated 595,000 Negro registrants eligible to vote in the Democratic primaries. This initial period was one of spectacular gains in some states. In Georgia, for example, more than 125,000 Negro voters were registered within a matter of months. Progress during the next five years was less rapid, but still substantial. According to surveys of the Southern Regional Council, by 1952 the South-wide total had climbed to about one million.

It is dismaying, however, to note the paucity of change that has taken place in the nearly ten years since then. By 1956 total Negro registration stood at an estimated 1,238,000, a net gain for the four-year period of less than a quarter of a million. More discouraging still, there is little evidence that the total Negro registration in the South today is appreciably larger than it was in 1956. This means that only about 25 per cent of potentially eligible Negro Southerners are on the voting lists, as against 60 per cent of the potentially eligible whites. To make matters worse, a smaller percentage of Negro



registrants than whites actually turns out to vote in most places on most election days.

The reasons for this poor showing are varied and complex. A major factor, and the one which most compels our concern, is overt discrimination, violence or intimidation visited on the would-be Negro voter. These conditions are by no means omnipresent in the South. They are found for the most part in the rural counties of the old plantation country commonly called the "black belt" and in some of the cities which draw primarily on that sub-culture. A study of socio-economic factors reveals that the typical county in which Negroes are disfranchised by fear or force is a rural county where large land holdings and farm tenancy are common, where there is little or no industry, where the average educational achievement is low, where per capita income is small, where the proportion of Negroes in the population is high, and where the rate of population loss is heavy and increasing.

In these deep South areas, the prospects for full enfranchisement are far from bright. There, a whole way of life must be modified before the Negro will have truly equal access to the ballot. Yet there are powerful forces—economic and cultural—that are making for gradual change in the "black belt" and more rapid progress in the less difficult parts of the South. The main influences are of four sorts:

(1) National determination to assure the right to vote has perceptibly stiffened in recent years. The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960—the first such legislation since Reconstruction—were aimed largely at voting discrimination. The investigative and advisory functions of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights have been heavily concentrated in the voting field. And the new Administration is expected to proceed more vigorously in Federal actions against such discrimination.

(2) The movement of people from farm to city means, in the case of Negroes, a shift from discriminatory to permissive voting situations. In most of the larger Southern cities, Negroes can register and vote without hindrance; there, too, they are more likely to be activated by political groups.

(3) The rising status of Negroes, as reflected in education and income, coincides with growing militancy. The student protest movement has both expressed and enhanced this new insistence on equal treatment, which is bound to increase Negro participation in political as well as other aspects of public life.

(4) It is a measure of the changing times that virtually no important Southern spokesman today publicly defends denial of the ballot on racial grounds. This is a reversal of the situation in the middle and late Forties, when most Southern politicians openly advocated discriminatory curbs on Negro suffrage.

So much for past and prologue. It is sufficient perhaps to give us some footing for a modest leap into the future, which is the main purpose of this discussion.

The Economic Problem

I am not bold or farsighted enough to predict a specific date by which every remnant of voting discrimination will be wiped out. But it requires neither courage nor prophetic powers to foresee that the chief remaining barriers to Negro suffrage will be eliminated within the next ten years. To some, this will seem a safely conservative prediction. Yet it is not so conservative when one considers the changes it assumes in the deep South—in Mississippi, in large parts of Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina, and in smaller areas of Arkansas, Tennessee, Texas, Florida, North Carolina and Virginia.

It assumes, above all, a brisk climb up the economic ladder by the Negroes who remain in these mainly rural areas. So long as they continue to be dependent for income and credit, as most are now,

on white landlords, employers, bankers and merchants, the door to the voting booth will not swing open. It is a discouraging but stubborn fact that the Negro laborer's bargaining position is worsening at precisely the time when he could achieve the most from it. As the rural South abandons cotton for beef and dairy farming, as machines replace mules and men, large numbers of unskilled farm laborers are becoming expendable. Since many whites are included in this surplus, both on the farm and in the factory, Negroes are likely to find their labor in meager demand for some time to come.

A current illustration of this problem can be found in the west Tennessee counties of Fayette and Haywood. Until recently, few if any Negroes voted in these rural, Mississippi-oriented counties. Then an upsurge in Negro registration efforts, supported by Federal pressures, led to the registration of some hundreds of Negroes. Local whites retaliated with economic reprisals against the new voters—boycotts of goods and credit, layoffs and, most devastating of all, simple refusal to renew the contracts of their Negro tenant farmers.

In an unprecedented action, the Justice Department secured a Federal Court injunction against the dispossession of Negro tenants whose only crime was registering to vote. This is the uneasy situation today and the outlook is depressing. For the white landowners are mechanizing, moving somewhat earlier and more drastically than they otherwise would have to displace the Negroes from the land. How long this inevitable displacement can be delayed by court order is the only question, and it is not a consoling one.

Here, in a nutshell, is the economic problem that must be solved—or at least greatly ameliorated—before universal suffrage for Negroes can become a reality.

A second assumption underlying our ten-year prediction is that Negro educational achievement will rise sharply. While it is possible under state laws for illiterates and near-illiterates to qualify as voters, the hurdles can be set forbiddingly high. The so-called literacy test has supplanted the poll tax and other traditional devices as the chief means of perpetuating discrimination. Under Georgia law, an applicant who cannot read and write any section of the United States Constitution to the registrar's satisfaction may be required to answer a set of questions that would stump most college graduates. Flagrant abuses of this discretion can land a registrar before a Federal judge. But if a Negro applicant's lack of literacy is real, as it is in

too many instances, there is no recourse. Education is the only answer.

A third assumption is that the right to vote will be supported by vigorous Federal action. As we have noted, acts of Congress, Justice Department litigation, and Federal court rulings have their limitations in the field of suffrage. But their influence can be powerful in those areas where Negroes lack the strength, unaided, to break through discriminatory barriers. The very existence of Federal concern for voting rights and the national sentiment it evinces encourages the would-be Negro voter and deters the would-be discriminator. Fortunately, there appears to be little doubt that the national government's commitment here is permanent, for various reasons, not the least of them being the strategic importance of the Negro vote in Northern, Western and border states.

A final assumption is that the tension growing out of the pressure and progress toward integration will be somewhat abated over the next decade. A public opinion inflamed over racial issues not only impedes the growth of Negro suffrage, but limits the effectiveness of the ballot already attained. Negroes are in the minority in every Southern state and in most counties. Their political hopes, therefore, must rest not on dominance of the electorate, but on balance-of-power influence.

So long as it is possible to split the vote along racial lines, there will be politicians unscrupulous enough to exploit racial issues; and most of their fellows, however unhappily, will go along in self-defense. This has been the disheartening spectacle in most of the South during the past seven years. As a result, we have seen the value of the existing Negro vote deflated by the office-seeker's fear of demagogic opposition and its effect on an aroused

white electorate. Moreover, the deflation has had a spiraling quality; confronted by candidates who provided no choice except that of the lesser of evils, many Negroes have not bothered to vote at all.

The cure for this condition is a return to a more normal and balanced state of public opinion and political concerns. There are already hopeful signs that the racist fever is abating in all but the most recalcitrant areas of the South. This should presage a resumption of growth, both in size and in influence, of the Negro vote in the region.

The Fruits of Enfranchisement

It is hardly possible to disentangle the results from the pre-conditions of universal Negro suffrage. The political arrangements of the South must be basically overhauled if Negroes are to have full suffrage. It is equally true to say, however, that full Negro suffrage will produce basic changes in the South's political structure. If the social and economic status of the Negro must be improved as a prerequisite to complete enfranchisement, it is no less the case that an unfettered ballot will hasten his gains in the social and economic spheres. Perhaps the simplest and most accurate way to put it is that these developments are concurrent; that full suffrage, full citizenship and full acceptance make up a beneficent circle, each giving impetus to the other.

Of course, it is not Negroes alone who will gain from full enfranchisement. The benefits will be felt by the whole American people; for that matter, throughout that part of the earth we call the free world. Consider the benefits that will flow from the demise of anti-Negro demagoguery in our political life, from the development of a healthy two-party



system in the South, from an influx of Negro talent and energy into public offices and creative private efforts, from the enlightened legislation that a less race-ridden South will support, from the greater understanding of the needs and potentialities of non-white people the world over that will result.

It is tempting to end on this utopian note. But honesty compels a further, less heartening word. We have considered universal Negro suffrage only in terms of *free access* to the ballot. There is the further meaning of full exercise of the ballot. In this sense, the outlook can only be described as gloomy. Indeed, in this sense, universal suffrage does not exist at all in the United States, where a President is elected with the participation of less than 65 per cent of voting-age citizens, and local officeholders by much smaller percentages.

In Southern areas where Negroes can register and

vote without the slightest hindrance, their performance falls far short of the miserable standards set by their white fellow citizens. There are abundant reasons, of course—long conditioning, insecurity, deprivation. But in looking beyond the South for a bright future pattern, we find little comfort. The laws are nondiscriminatory, the polls are open to all, but the conditions that make for responsible citizenship are woefully lacking.

The greatest challenge, then, is not merely—or even primarily—to best the bigoted Southern registrar and his allies in the raw practice of discrimination. It is to conquer the more subtle, evasive forms of racism that deny dignity and full stature to Americans of color. Only as these are destroyed will Negro Americans enjoy full suffrage—and perhaps set a standard of citizenship that will inspire white Americans to put a higher value on their own.

Total Inclusiveness is Rare

Our Caste-Ridden Protestant Campuses

THOMAS F. PETTIGREW

IF YOU visit a Southern college campus today and see both Negro and white students, the chances are that you are *not* at a Protestant institution. You may be at a state university, since only three states still maintain all-white universities. You may even be at a non-sectarian private college, for a number of these are establishing integrated student bodies. But positive witness to the church's often enunciated principle of total inclusiveness is rare on the Southern Protestant campus.

Only two types of exceptions modify this tragic situation in the eleven ex-Confederate states: Roman Catholic colleges and Christian seminaries. While sometimes hesitant in other racial realms, the Roman Catholic Church has succeeded in integrating most of its institutions of higher learning. The one in Alabama, Spring Hill College near Mobile, is of particular interest; it is the *only* interracial school of any description in the entire state. The 131-year-old Jesuit institution voluntarily opened its doors to any qualified student in 1951, and despite burned crosses and other threats it continues to include approximately thirty Negroes among its 1,400 students.

Most seminaries, both Protestant and Roman

Catholic, have desegregation policies. Racial enrollment barriers have been removed by the Southern Baptist seminaries at Forth Worth, Texas and Wake Forest, North Carolina; the Episcopal seminaries at Alexandria, Virginia, Austin, Texas, and Sewanee, Tennessee; the Methodist seminary at Dallas, Texas; and the Presbyterian seminaries at Austin, Texas, Decatur, Georgia and Richmond, Virginia. Again, a Roman Catholic institution is of special significance. The St. Augustine Catholic Seminary, operated by the Society of Divine Word at Bay St. Louis, Mississippi, has the distinction of being the only interracial school in that state.

The desegregated status of our Christian seminaries contrasts sharply with the rest of our segregated church structure and consequently raises special problems. We train Negro seminarians to be men of God, but later we allow them to serve only as *Negro* men of God by placing them in so-called "Negro positions." But at least the seminaries are pointing the direction that all Christian institutions must eventually follow.

The problem of the caste-ridden Christian campus narrows, then, to the Protestant college. A state-by-state survey of this problem, using data collected by the *Southern School News* and the Southern Regional Council, is grim indeed.

Arkansas. Governor Faubus operates, surprisingly enough, at least seven desegregated state col-

MR. PETTIGREW teaches at Harvard University. With E. Q. Campbell he wrote *Christians in Racial Crisis: A Study of the Little Rock Ministry*, part of which appeared in "Vignettes From Little Rock" (Sept. 29, 1958). He is active in the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

leges. Of the five Protestant colleges, only two Presbyterian institutions—Arkansas College and College of the Ozarks—are desegregated. Two better-known schools, Harding College (Church of Christ) and Hendrix College (Methodist), remain “lily white.”

Protestants Move Cautiously

Florida. The state university at Gainesville and one state junior college have begun token desegregation programs; one non-sectarian private school, the University of Miami, has announced a desegregation policy for next fall. But Protestant schools like Florida Southern (Methodist) and Stetson (Southern Baptist) remain tightly segregated. A new college at St. Petersburg, Florida Presbyterian, may begin to change this pattern soon.

Georgia. The major recent breakthrough in Southern race relations occurred last January when two highly qualified Negroes were admitted to the University of Georgia under Federal court orders. Sharp revisions in the state's segregation laws and immediate applications to Georgia Tech at Atlanta by Negroes indicate that further desegregation at public institutions of higher learning will be forthcoming. Eyes now turn to the religious schools in the state, particularly Atlanta's Emory University (Methodist), Decatur's Agnes Scott College (Presbyterian) and Macon's Mercer University (Southern Baptist). Church schools did not lead the way in Georgia. The question now is, how long will it take them to follow?



Louisiana. Governor Davis, like Faubus, leads his state's bitter resistance to secondary school desegregation while operating numerous desegregated colleges. Five state colleges, including Louisiana State University at Baton Rouge, are now desegregated. And a leading non-sectarian private uni-

versity, Tulane, has recently announced its desegregation plans. Protestant colleges, like Centenary (Methodist) at Shreveport, are strictly segregated.

North Carolina. The three major parts of the state's once all-white university system—Women's College, State College and the University—have each established desegregation programs, while state-supported North Carolina A. and T. College, formerly all-Negro, has also begun its desegregation program. One non-sectarian private college, Black Mountain College, is desegregated. But among Protestant colleges, only two small institutions have desegregation policies—Warren Wilson Junior College (Presbyterian, U. S. A.) and Pfeiffer College (Methodist). Four large Protestant schools of higher learning—Davidson College (Presbyterian), Duke University (Methodist), Lenoir-Rhyne College (Lutheran), and Wake Forest College (Southern Baptist)—remain all white, though there are rumblings of change at each of them.

The Board of Trustees of Davidson continues to exclude all American Negroes, but they recently indicated an interest in having Congolese representation in their student body. Apparently black skin in itself will not, henceforth, be the sole criterion of Negro exclusion—only the combination of black skin and American citizenship! On the other hand, Duke University has indicated that they will begin to accept Negro students this fall—at the graduate level. It appears that on Protestant campuses these things must be done very gradually, even though undergraduates have been desegregated without incident for almost a decade at the University of North Carolina, eight miles away, and the undergraduate tennis team at State College, thirty miles away, recently had a Negro for its elected captain! When Christian principles are involved, Protestant schools move most cautiously.

South Carolina. As in Alabama and Mississippi, there is no desegregation in public education here. Nor is there any in private education, including Converse College (Presbyterian), Furman University (Southern Baptist), Presbyterian College and Wofford College (Methodist). But religiously affiliated institutions still have the opportunity of leading the process in the state.

Tennessee. Six state institutions, including the University of Tennessee, are desegregated, as are four non-sectarian private institutions—Madison, Peabody and Tusculum Colleges, and Vanderbilt University. One important qualification, however, has to be made about Vanderbilt's system. As its president and Board of Trustees illustrated clearly in their summary expulsion of the Rev. James Law-

son last year, Vanderbilt allows Negroes to remain enrolled only if they do not protest against segregation.

Most religiously affiliated colleges like Southwestern College (Presbyterian), the undergraduate part of the University of the South (Episcopal), and King College (Presbyterian) are for whites exclusively. Only two, predominantly white, Protestant colleges are desegregated—Maryville College (Presbyterian) and Scarritt College for Christian Workers (Methodist).

Texas. At least 23 publicly supported, formerly all-white institutions of higher learning now have desegregation policies, in addition to several public colleges that were formerly all-Negro. Protestant institutions have moved with their characteristic caution. Eight have achieved some degree of desegregation, but in many cases this is in the graduate and professional courses only: Austin College and Trinity University (Presbyterian), Lutheran Concordia College and Texas Lutheran College, McMurry College and Southern Methodist University, Wayland Baptist College and the Brite College of the Bible, which is part of Texas Christian University. Only white students are accepted by the remainder of Texas Christian University (Disciples of Christ) plus Abilene Christian College (Church of Christ), Baylor University (Southern Baptist), Hardin-Simmons University (Southern Baptist), Southwestern University (Methodist) and Texas Wesleyan College (Methodist).

Virginia. Five of the major state centers of higher education, including the University of Virginia, have been desegregated for a number of years, but Protestant schools remain uni-racial, save for two tiny institutions, Bridgewater College (Brethren), and Eastern Mennonite College. The two Randolph-Macon Colleges (Methodist), Lynchburg College (Disciples of Christ), Hampden-Sydney College (Presbyterian), Mary Baldwin College (Presbyterian), the University of Richmond (Southern Baptist) and others continue their policies of racial exclusion.

The Negative Protestant Witness

A "realist" might well argue that one could not reasonably expect Southern Protestant colleges to be further advanced than they are toward racial inclusiveness. After all, organized religion is an institution that is necessarily imbedded deep within the society in which it operates. The actual practices of such an institution will naturally be a direct reflection of the practices of the secular society.

Many Christians would want to challenge such "realistic" reasoning, but for present purposes such reasoning is irrelevant to the problem of Protestant college segregation. By and large the situation is not one of church schools merely reflecting the racist norms of the culture; rather, it is one of their actually lagging far behind secular schools. Ironically, most state universities in the South are beginning to offer positive witness to Christian teachings, while Protestant universities can usually offer only negative witness to these same teachings.

But, some may interject, has not most of the South's desegregation of public higher education been the direct result of Federal court pressure, pressure that is not available for private institutions? Of course, this is largely true. Federal court pressure has frequently been decisive; yet this, too, is a weak statement of the problem. Most Roman Catholic and a growing number of non-sectarian colleges have desegregated *without* legal pressure. Besides, must Protestant institutions await legal force to follow their own religious principles?

What, then, is the problem? College administrators and their teachers and students frequently sum it up in four words: "the Board of Trustees." This statement of the problem is undoubtedly too simple, for it conveniently obscures and rationalizes the equivocation and inaction of these people themselves. Nevertheless, there is considerable validity to the charge. The trustees of many Protestant colleges in the South are all too often tradition-oriented paternalists, who prefer to call themselves "moderates." (I have discussed the "moderate's" ideology in detail in "The Myth of the Moderate: A Christian Delusion," which will appear in a forthcoming issue of *The Christian Century*.) And frequently they have followed their own narrow inclinations and prejudices without concern for the vast departures their actions may take from denominational teachings and pronouncements.

A recent incident is indicative. An official agency of one denomination sent to each trustee of denominational secondary schools a single-page reprint of a pro-integration statement made by the highest official of the denomination. Before long the angry letters began to arrive. "Frankly, I am very resentful . . . of the message it attempts to get across," wrote a small-town attorney from Virginia. More violent was a Baltimore attorney, an alumnus of two denominational schools and a trustee of three:

When the Church steps forward as the champion of evil causes—as has happened in the long course of history—there is nothing

left to Christians but to cry out at whatever peril to themselves, as their Lord cried out against the hierarchy of his day, which crucified him. . . . Where in particular do Christian churchmen get the idea that there is anything sinful in segregation? . . . If I am denounced for this attitude, I can only say as did the Apostles, "We ought to serve God rather than man!"

The Baltimore attorney has delineated the problem precisely. Protestantism needs to spell out in detail the implications of meaning and action behind its many pronouncements on race. These trustees are Christians, at least nominally. They must be communicated to directly by the highest officials of their respective denominations so that they may better understand their duties, not so much as trustees but as Christians. Administrators, teachers and students need guidance, too. If Protestantism cannot communicate effectively within its own structure, it can never hope to present positive witness of its principles to the secular world.

Segregated Housing is the Major Obstacle to Community Justice

Residential Desegregation: Confrontation for the Churches

S. GARRY ONIKI

ONE OF the major aspects of the struggle for human rights in the United States in the Sixties will be the issue of equality of access to housing on the basis of ability to pay and not on the basis of race, religion or national origin. To be an inclusive fellowship and to serve the demands of justice, the churches will have to understand the scope and social consequences of residential segregation. They will be faced with the problem of identifying and combatting forces that maintain segregation and promoting the forces tending toward desegregation. Fortunately, there already exists a substantial body of research and experience to guide their thought and action at many points.

Because of its basic relationship to all forms of segregation, housing is a central factor in the elimination of segregation and other forms of discrimination. The critical issue is segregation: whether racial and ethnic minority group members will be accorded freedom to compete in the open housing market with their fellow citizens. Thus, the crucial test for our democracy is coming in our neighborhoods. In the residential areas of our cities

This is not to imply that the task of change will be an easy one. The problem of our caste-ridden Protestant campuses has deep roots and will demand for its solution many different approaches. The depth of the problem was recently illustrated by an announcement of the University of the South, operated by the 21 Southern dioceses of the Episcopal Church. At a previous commencement, John Temple Graves, the segregationist columnist of Birmingham, sent the Christian scholars into the world as the featured speaker. This June, Thomas R. Waring, the segregationist editor of South Carolina's *Charleston News and Courier*, will be awarded an honorary Doctor of Civil Law degree even though he has continuously advocated open defiance of the Supreme Court in the editorial columns of his newspaper for the past seven years!

Obviously, we cannot begin too soon to remove caste and racism from our Protestant campuses. Until we do, these institutions can be Christian in name only.

and in the sprawling suburbs, Americans are confronted with a choice that will have far-reaching effects on the social structure of American society.

The churches, especially as neighborhood institutions, will confront this choice with increasing impact because of two important concerns that relate them directly to the issue of residential desegregation: their concern for persons and for justice in the social order, and their concern for the development of more inclusive fellowships. This article will attempt to set forth the nature of the confrontation. If the churches are to be faithful to their own nature and mission in their encounter with the issue of residential desegregation, a first step is to understand the specific dimensions of this social problem.

It should be obvious that the motivation for the concern of the churches about this social problem has a clear basis within the over-all framework of the Christian social ethic. This point was made with clarity in the first policy pronouncement on "Churches and Segregation" by the General Board of the National Council of Churches:

Christians in the United States, now more than ever before, honestly desire that quality of Christian fellowship which brings to the

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total Church the gifts of all for spiritual enrichment of each. Efforts directed toward such spiritual enrichment are frequently confused and ineffectual because of the pattern of segregation which defeats good will. Many persons find themselves frustrated when they attempt to live out their Christian impulses within a segregated society.

The Church, when true to its higher destiny, has always understood that its gospel of good news has a two-fold function, namely:

To create new men with new motives;

To create a new society wherein such men will find a favorable environment in which to live their Christian convictions.

The churches in the United States, while earnestly striving to nurture and develop individuals of good-will, have not dealt adequately with the fundamental pattern of segregation in our society which thwarts their efforts. This must be corrected. The churches should continue to emphasize the first function. In addition, they must launch a more comprehensive program of action in fulfillment of the second function. This is an imperative now.

In addition, almost every major Protestant and Orthodox denomination has committed itself in principle to "a non-segregated church and a non-segregated society." However, only in recent years have the churches realized that this goal cannot be achieved without facing squarely the issue of residential desegregation.



In nearly every metropolitan area in the North and West, segregated private housing, which comprises 85 to 90 per cent of the housing supply, remains the major obstacle to the realization of fellowship in the sanctuary and justice in the community.

A 1957 survey conducted by the Office of Church and Society of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. showed that a non-segregated church is presently virtually impossible for about 90 per cent of their churches, because they are located in communities in which no Negro families now live. In most of these communities a Negro family would

have difficulty purchasing a home because of the present patterns of exclusion. It is almost axiomatic, then, that extensive institutional desegregation of the churches or schools can occur only with increasing residential desegregation.

The Social Consequences

To understand the problem of housing discrimination and the need for residential desegregation, it is important to look briefly at the numbers affected by discrimination and the resulting social consequences.

In 1958, following a three-year study, the Commission on Race and Housing, an independent private organization financed by a grant from the Fund for the Republic, reported that some twenty-seven million Americans, or nearly one-sixth of the nation's population, face restrictions in their choice of a home because of race, religion or national origin. Groups that are affected include eighteen million Negroes, 750,000 other non-whites (mainly American Indians and Orientals), 800,000 Puerto Ricans, two and a half million Mexican-Americans, and the nation's five million Jews.

Of course, the extent of the discrimination varies from group to group and in relation to time and place. The commission found that residential discrimination falls most heavily on the 18.7 million non-white citizens and especially on the eighteen million Negroes.

The social consequences of housing discrimination are manifold. Housing discrimination leads to and intensifies slums and slum conditions. It leads to overcrowding, doubling-up and high rents. It makes adequate urban renewal and development extremely difficult, if not impossible. Moreover, budding ghettos and transition areas multiply inter-group tensions and fears. Racial and ethnic groups, especially those mentioned above, have been historically ill-housed. In spite of some recent improvements, their housing remains far inferior to the general standards.

The visible disparity between white and minority housing conditions is amply confirmed by census statistics. In 1950, only 40 per cent of non-white families occupied dwelling units in the nation's urban areas that met the Census Bureau's minimum criteria for "standard" housing. These criteria include freedom from dilapidation and the presence of modern sanitary facilities (running water, a private flush toilet and a bath). By contrast, more than 70 per cent of the white homes conformed to the minimum requirements. The 1956 National Hous-

ing Inventory showed that such conditions still existed in the nation's 168 standard metropolitan areas.

In 1961, the crucial importance of good housing for individual and social well-being is generally accepted. Moreover, there is general agreement on the responsibility of government to act on a wide scale to eliminate slums and to assist families to secure homes. "A decent home and suitable living environment for every American family" has been a part of the national policy for more than a decade. However, this goal cannot be achieved apart from residential desegregation.

The basic issue in housing today is segregation. Housing for racial and ethnic groups involves larger issues than the amount and quality of their dwelling units, important as these are. Housing has become a central factor in the movement to achieve full citizenship and equal rights for all citizens. The critical and dominant issue is segregation: whether each citizen will have equal opportunity to compete in the housing market without restrictions based on race, religion or national origin.

In the United States, a basic assumption on which our society has operated is the right of each person to purchase, within his financial capacity, the commodities offered in the open market. Although the Constitution does not specifically guarantee this freedom, the Declaration of Independence comes very close when it speaks of the right of every citizen to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. As the Federal Civil Rights Commission reported in 1959, housing is the only major commodity in America to which restriction applies.

Moreover, discrimination in housing operates to abridge the right of the majority-group owner to sell or rent his property on the open market. The restricted housing market in reality means two housing markets: one for whites and one for non-whites and minority ethnic groups. Thus, this mechanism of the market place, as it usually operates, restricts the area in which the white seller may find prospective buyers.

The characteristic solution to the housing problems of successive immigrant groups traditionally has occurred within the process of acculturation to American society. As immigrants and especially their children progressed economically and culturally, they moved out of the slums and ethnic ghettos and found dwellings in middle-class neighborhoods. They were free to move and purchase property in the open market according to their capacity to pay.

For groups that are non-white and for certain ethnic groups, the traditional and historic pathway

of escape from the slums or inadequate housing conditions is obstructed. All persons of a particular group, regardless of their degree of acculturation, personal qualification, socio-economic status or character, are restricted from living in certain neighborhoods. They are thus barred from entering the main stream of American life.

Davis McEntire, Research Director of the Commission on Race and Housing, commenting on this aspect of the housing problem in *Residence and Race* (*Race and Housing Series*, University of California Press), says:

Desegregation of residence further implies a significant equalization of social status and broadened opportunity to participate in community activities. Where a family lives is a mark of its social position, and people living in a similar house in the same neighborhood are ordinarily judged to be on the same social level. Many business and civic activities are associated directly or indirectly with place of residence and are not readily accessible to the segregated minorities.

Forces Toward Segregation

In recent years, significant progress has been made in reducing many forms of discrimination in the areas of employment, education, voting, and public accommodations and transportation. But, while these advances have been made, residential segregation has remained highly resistant to change. In the last 25 years, and especially since World War II, certain forces have been operating to sustain residential segregation.

Foremost among these forces are the customs and codes of brokers, lenders and builders—those who create, sell and re-sell homes. The generalized group prejudice of the whites, along with specific fears of status anxieties, fears of property value loss and neighborhood deterioration, fear of being inundated by minorities, and fears for personal safety provide a basis and support for segregation of minority groups.

Over the years, however, it has been real estate brokers, builders and mortgage finance institutions whose combined decisions have operated to restrict the opportunities of non-whites and certain ethnic groups to acquire housing and to limit them to specific circumscribed areas. From 1935 to 1950, nine million new homes were constructed in the United States. Of these, less than one per cent were available to non-white residents. One of the factors that served to accentuate this control was the shift to large-scale production methods. Consequently, in the postwar years there developed the phenome-

non of huge new communities, as well as many small ones, without a single Negro resident. Since large-scale building methods were made possible by publicly assisted financing and by other public aids, government housing policy indirectly promoted segregation.

Another stimulus to segregation has been the massive movement of millions of non-whites, especially Negroes from the South, to the urban centers in the North and West, followed by the parallel exodus of whites from the cities to the suburbs. While the non-white concentrations have been growing in the cities, the great migration to the suburbs has been almost exclusively white. An analysis by D. O. Cowgill indicates that from 1940 to 1950 segregation of Negroes increased in over two-thirds of the 185 cities studied.

Martin Grodzins has pointed out that a new pattern of segregation is emerging in our big cities, especially in the fourteen largest metropolitan areas where nearly one-third of our nation's population resides. Racial segregation on an urban-suburban basis is, in fact, becoming a major source of concern to municipal and civic leaders in many cities. Eugene C. Lee, assistant director of the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of California, speaking to the International City Managers Association conference last year, made the following statement:

... "race and space to live in" were big issues in urban life. . . . Cities must work toward integration of their suburban neighborhoods or face deterioration. . . .

I question . . . whether or not it is socially desirable to have ethnic groups concentrated in central cities in preponderant fashion. The alternative is dispersal of Negroes and other minorities throughout our societies on the basis of social and economic class—like the rest of us.

... Refusal to permit minorities freedom of choice in housing would lead to deterioration of central cities, the fountainheads of culture and achievement.

What has happened and is happening is that the increase in number of non-whites living in desegregated residential situations has been offset by an increase in the over-all pattern of segregation due to the large concentrations of non-whites in the central cities.

Factors Favoring Desegregation

As previously indicated, housing discrimination has been resistant to change. However, a number of factors will continue to work in the direction of alleviating this situation.

(1) Increase of racially tolerant attitudes among the white population. In 1942, the National Opinion Research Center queried a national cross section of the white population: "If a Negro family with the same income and education as you moved into your block, would it make any difference to you?" Forty-two per cent of the Northerners and twelve per cent of the Southerners said it would make no difference. The same question was repeated to a similar cross section in 1956. At that time, 58 per cent in the North and 38 per cent in the South stated no objection to residential proximity.

(2) Disproof or serious qualification of such racial myths as the one stating that property values are lowered upon the entrance of non-whites into a neighborhood. There are many studies in this area. I would cite here the contribution of Luigi Laurenti in *Property Values and Race* (*Race and Housing Series*, University of California Press).

(3) Increasing concern and action by many groups, including the churches, in social education and action programs such as fair housing practice law campaigns, neighborhood stabilization programs, open occupancy pledge campaigns, establishment of listing services, etc.

(4) Such critical judicial decisions as the Supreme Court decision in the public school segregation cases striking down the "separate but equal" doctrine.

(5) A growing body of legislation in housing and other areas. Fourteen states and about 33 cities have laws affecting discrimination in public or publicly aided housing; among these, four states and two cities have laws applying to private housing.

In a press statement published on August 9, 1960, Senator Kennedy declared: "The Administration could now make a real political contribution to civil rights progress by issuing the Executive Order against discrimination in Federal housing programs which the Civil Rights Commission proposed eleven months ago. I renew my call on the President to issue that order. If he does not do it, a new Democratic Administration will." The 1960 Democratic Platform pledged: "The new Democratic Administration will take action to end discrimination in Federal housing programs, including Federally assisted housing."

(6) The success of a small but significant number of projects in the field of housing developed on an integrated basis. Eunice and George Grier in *Privately Developed Interracial Housing* (*Race and Housing Series*, University of California Press), another of the studies of the Commission on Race and Housing, reports on fifty privately developed interracial housing developments.

(7) Changing status of the non-white population, especially the eighteen million Negroes, although the rising income of the Negro is still well below that of the white. This enables them to compete more effectively in the housing market. Between 1940 and 1950, the average income of Negroes tripled, while that of whites increased one and a half times. The growth of a significant number of minority middle class members, culturally as well as economically, increases the demand for full participation in the open housing market. The pressure on the part of minority groups for their full rights will increase, backed by economic and political power.

(8) The impact of world opinion on racial practices in the United States. Out of the 99 member states of the United Nations, 46 are now African and Asian.

In spite of the present situation in housing, the fundamental long-range trend is toward desegregation. However, because of the complex nature of the situation and our social heritage of racial prejudice, the process promises to be difficult. Orderliness and rate of change will depend largely on groups like the churches and their membership.

Principles of Desegregation

However, if churches are going to make a significant contribution to residential desegregation, they need to combine their faith with understanding of the issue as indicated in the foregoing sections of this article. In addition, they will have to base specific approaches on sound principles that have evolved from experience, research and analysis.



Such a suggestive group of principles is presented by Davis McEntire in *Residence and Race*. Although the specific dimensions of the issue of residential desegregation may differ from community to community, the following principles are presented because they provide guidelines for the development of particular strategies and techniques:

(1) Attack discriminatory conduct rather than attitudes. It is far easier to change people's behavior by law or the pressure of public opinion

than it is to change attitudes of prejudice. Attitudes will change in due course.

(2) Change the social situation and thereby influence both decisions and attitudes. Argument is less effective than experience, and economic and legal pressure is more effective than attempts at persuasion.

(3) Focus on key points by influencing decision-makers in housing. These include government agencies, real estate brokers, the builders and the mortgage lenders. In time, the effects will spread through the total community.

(4) Seek legislation that will give freedom to persons who oppose discrimination. Laws for equal opportunity do more than coerce and prohibit. They also educate by changing the social situation and controlling behavior. In addition, the legislation gives freedom to those individual real estate brokers and builders who are constrained to discriminate by pressures of business groups or clients.

(5) Mobilize all citizens' groups concerned with discrimination to affect changes in law and to influence the decision-makers, both public and private. Firm organization and dedicated action are needed.

(6) Organize with the understanding that most Americans have no firmly fixed convictions about race and will respond to enlightened leadership.

(7) Promote association among members of majority and minority groups who are of comparable economic and social position. Promote the participation of minority members in community affairs to break down their isolation.

(8) Create community situations in which members of different racial groups can work together to solve problems such as obtaining better schools.

(9) Expand the supply of housing, especially at lower price levels, to reduce competition for housing among racial groups. Competition over areas for dominance by one race or another tends to promote segregation and intensify boundary lines.

(10) Do not confuse problems of racial segregation with problems of socio-economic segregation. Mixing neighborhoods by race does not mean mixing them by social class too. Persons of similar cultural and economic status have more in common regardless of race.

Whether or not they desire it, the churches will be increasingly tested by the issue of residential desegregation. The answers to this confrontation will be made by individual Christians and churches across the nation. The responses they make will have a far-reaching impact on their own life and on the cultural norms and social structure of American society.

Probing the Ethics of Realtors

KENNETH UNDERWOOD and ELDEN JACOBSON

MUCH MORE than shelter, housing symbolizes social status, a sense of "belonging," acceptance within a given group or neighborhood, identification with particular cultural values and social institutions, feelings of pride and worth, aspirations and hopes basic to human well-being. For almost one-sixth of the national population discrimination in the free selection of residence casts a considerable shadow upon these values assumed as self-evident by most Americans.

Few business groups in recent years have come under heavier pressure to face these realities than real estate brokers and home builders. This pressure has urged re-evaluation of the assumptions underlying their professional ethics; it has sought new sympathy for the human aspirations of racial minority groups in this country. It is not surprising that, as spokesman for real estate interests, the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB) and its local associations have sought to limit and often ignore much of this pressure.

How does the local realtor see himself in the context of housing restrictions based on race, religion or ethnic attachment? What does he conceive his role to be in this area of social unrest? What ought to be, what is his potential role as a force for constructive social change? What social, ethical and theological insights can the church and university help him bring to bear upon his situation?

Recently, a group of the faculty at Wesleyan University's Public Affairs Center sought some answers to these questions. Several New England realtors were invited to participate in a small colloquium of property lawyers, political scientists, economists, social psychologists, social ethicists and theologians. Here, in an atmosphere of forthrightness and mutual criticism, each sought to bring his particular insights to bear upon the question of discrimination in housing and the part each man present played in it.

For a number of years, Wesleyan has been drawing varied groups of political and business leaders into these informal discussions with members of the

faculty and student body, attempting to explore and clarify aspects of their responsibility for public policy. This article presents our observations of that session, of the realtors as they saw themselves and as the faculty and students saw them.

Such conversation quickly reveals an ethically significant ambivalence in the self-images held by most realtors. Within the membership of this group, as has been found true of men in other professional or trade associations, the most ready portrayal of oneself to "the public" is that of a neutral agent simply serving the interests of a seller or buyer and mediating between them. Professional responsibility is seen to consist largely in serving the wishes of the client fairly and in an efficient manner. But as conversation goes on, particularly among the realtors themselves, another image emerges, that of considerable power and influence in the community. Obviously, much more than customer expectation is determining the realtor's role. Judgments are continually rendered regarding the potential buyers' income, educational level and, above all, racial extraction; and whether these would qualify them for "congenial," "happy" relations to other people in certain community areas.

A Narrow Professionalism

How explicit such factors have been historically is evident in any chronology of restrictive covenant cases or in a review of NAREB's Code of Ethics. Article 34 in the Code, adopted in 1924, states that "a Realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or nationality, or any individuals whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood." Though the reference to race was stricken by the association in 1950, being an agent of such "detrimental" influences still appears as the cardinal sin realtors see themselves committed to avoid.

The rationale for this avoidance was most frequently expressed in economic terms; all feared the supposed stigma they believed would inevitably attach to any realtor who openly introduced non-white, particularly Negro, peoples into all-white, restricted areas. They would become tagged as men

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not interested in being purely real estate "professionals" but agitators for some kind of "cause" or "reform," and this was no longer to be a "pro."

Obviously what we are confronted with here is the identification of "professional" with narrow skills and specialization, the effective servicing of a client, rather than responsiveness to the wider and deeper meaning and associations of one's work. These men—for the most part educated in our "best" New England colleges, well established financially and socially in the community—under kindly but insistent probing, reveal little or no objective or explicit criteria or data for their generalizations about the interests and attitudes of the people they claim to serve, or about the public responses that actually follow their occasional breach of a "client-service relationship."

This narrow "professionalism" does not even fit the present realities of their situation, as the pressure of minorities and the power and respectability of the realtors increase. As our discussion continued, the inadequacy of the "client relationship" as an interpretation of their "way of operating" became evident. Realtors live in their communities as specialists in a given area of work, as members of social and professional organizations, as citizens and civic leaders, as church laymen, as university alumni, as newspaper readers, etc. From such communal roles the realtor finds the substance that shapes his moral understanding.

It seems to us that choices exercised by realtors in moral situations center in at least three areas: (1) the various ways in which they interpret a particular social issue; (2) their pattern of involvement in the regular legal and political processes; and, most pervasively, (3) their interpretation of who is a "real pro," of what it means to be a professional man in a technical, fragmented society.

(1) Most of the realtors minimized their own understanding of and role in the racial issue, pleading that they only reflect the attitudes and intentions of their society. There is some reality to this; the Commission on Race and Housing concluded that "there is no reason to believe that real estate men are either more or less racially prejudiced, on the whole, than any other segment of the American population." But such a reaction obscures the powerful efforts made in the past by both NAREB and its local boards for the maintenance of restrictive clauses and practices. Also, it does not recognize the elements of choice and judgment continually employed.

Like business and university groups generally, these men had very limited knowledge of recent

sociological and psychological studies and findings that might illumine the decisions they make. Realtors, both generally and in this group, have invariably equated residential integration with a decline in property values, a circumstance viewed with considerable apprehension.

Recent studies by the Commission on Race and Housing and others, however, point to a vast complex of factors that often do not warrant this conclusion. There are increasing numbers of neighborhoods that are integrated residentially without great loss of property values, the white population having taken the initiative in preparing the areas for an appreciation of the Negroes' desire for well-kept housing, privacy, etc. Data on the decline of property values in an area after a new racial group enters it has to be assessed in terms of the trends in property values before the group comes in. Often they are able to get in only because the area is declining economically.

Significantly, no realtor and few of the faculty present were familiar with any of the six volumes (published by the University of California Press) that present the commission's findings. No one anticipates any radical shift in this situation, but questions concerning reading habits, the availability of such data and the places where it is discussed must surely be raised. The role of both church and university as sources of information and settings within which the implications of such information may be explored needs consideration.

Relevant "facts," however, extend beyond considerations of property values and maintenance of "harmonious" neighborhoods. Discussion of minority housing necessarily involves such basic issues as the intensity of one's democratic conviction and religious belief concerning equality of opportunity, the function and limitations of government in the securing of such equality, and the spotlight that world opinion plays upon local incidents of racial agitation and strife.

"against the grain of creation"

(2) Realtors realize, of course, that they are involved in an increasingly complex legal and political system that is opening up opportunities for leverage on their relation to clients as well as opportunities for evasion of their responsibility for racial discrimination in housing. On the positive side, recent Federal action has largely undermined the legal sanction so long enjoyed by the segregationist position; anti-discriminatory statutes in housing have now been adopted by thirteen states

and, while specific provisions have varied, the tendency is clearly toward expanding coverage.

Realtors in attendance at the colloquium expressed interest, for example, in Connecticut's new housing law as setting standards of equity that they would like "to have to obey," but in support of which none had been willing to go on public record. As far as they were aware, the Connecticut Association of Real Estate Boards had not officially opposed the bill's passage or lobbied in its support. (This has not been the case everywhere. In 1957, the Real Estate Boards of New York City actively opposed the then pending private housing anti-discrimination law. Official reasoning: the bill was a "wanton invasion of basic property rights.")

There are sins of omission as well as commission; the attitude adopted by realtors and their associations, either negative or positive, plays a large part in the public acceptance of such measures and the degree to which they may be effectively enforced. Judicial opinion since the Supreme Court decision on *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948) has rendered racial restrictive covenants unenforceable. Such a decision should have placed a powerful weapon in the hands of the entire housing industry, but there is little evidence that realtors, or at least their associations, have repudiated the principle in such clauses.

In the states that have passed laws preventing discrimination in the sale or rental of housing, support by real estate associations for compliance and broadened coverage through additional legislation could help remove the label of "social reformism" that most realtors individually seem determined to avoid. But as yet, no real estate board has been willing officially to support such laws or to admit the permissibility of introducing minority buyers into all-white neighborhoods.

One of the roles of the social scientist, ethicist or theologian in our discussions with the realtors became that of encouraging greater awareness of the opportunities offered by the legal and political processes for the exercise of broad social responsibilities in their work. But responsiveness to these opportunities presumes that all of us judge the good as a human good and not simply as a professional, white, American good. Such judgments are meaningful only in so far as persons are members of a world, let us say a community, that embraces Scarsdale or Yonkers, but is also infinitely richer since it is all-inclusive.

That community of all creation is, then, the ultimate object of our loyalty and the concrete norm of all moral judgment. Racial discrimination is wrong, then, not because it goes against the grain

of a faculty member trying to converse with a few realtors but because it goes against the grain of creation and against the will of the Creator. Thus, moral issues concerning the nature of the legal and political processes take on theological dimensions.

A Fragmented Society

(3) Over the years, individuals engaged in the sale of real estate have developed remarkable unity in the methods and practices employed. Most realtors and real estate brokers talk of themselves as "professional people" with the cultural and moral values held by the traditional professions. But what significance attaches to "professional," beyond the narrow sense of skillfulness in meeting a client's stated needs as already noted? Our faculty and students pressed this issue more than any other.

As a theologian in the group pointed out, a professional was, before the modern period of technical specialization, one who "professed" to be a bearer and critic of his culture in the use of his particular skills. He was consciously committed to some general calling or loyalty within which his particular calling found meaning. The professionally and liberally educated man, then, not only learns the skills of a profession, but in all his associations is expected to be the self-consciousness of the community in the crises of its daily life, in the depths and heights of human suffering and aspiration.

As we explored these terms, it seemed to the faculty and to some of the realtors, at least, that the responsibilities of the broker within his profession were usually too narrowly defined. In association with other realtors, he needs to face squarely the fact that he not only reflects community attitudes, but may bring to bear insights and commitments that in turn shape and change such attitudes.

For example, one of the toughest moral dilemmas or choices explored by the colloquium was the issue of "better minority housing" as opposed to "open occupancy." Particularly in the short run, minority groups may find their plea for improvement considered more sympathetically by groups planning urban redevelopment when the demand for open occupancy is dropped. Several of the realtors frankly admitted that this seemed the most palatable choice now possible. But this leaves the issue of segregation untouched and continues to withhold the essential right of residence as based upon factors that do not include color or ethnic origin. Those who defend qualitative improvement of present segregated patterns need to recognize fully what it is they defend.

Throughout the entire discussion reference was made to the relationships that realtors share with banking and financial institutions and with the various sectors of the building industry. Here, also, it became apparent that these men exercised considerable influence that they were reluctant to have recognized publicly. NAREB has exerted considerable pressure, in concert with other conservative forces, upon the Federal Housing Authority and the Veterans Administration. While the FHA in recent years has adopted an official position more in keeping with legislative enactment and judicial decree, considerable reluctance in enforcing anti-discriminatory measures against the building industry, including those who handle sales and arrange financing, has been evident. Much of this reluctance can be traced to lobby pressures of NAREB. Support for open occupancy by NAREB would almost certainly be reflected in the attitudes, and more importantly, the policies of the FHA and perhaps even the Veterans Administration.

In the various conversations that have taken place in recent years at the Public Affairs Center between the academic, political and business communities, it has become increasingly evident that the spiritual, aesthetic and intellectual resources of the society have been isolated from the professional-technical areas in which the major decisions affecting our common life are made. This question of the fragmentation of life is one of the most perplexing in modern society.

What is the relationship of the "professional man" to his church? The majority of the individuals involved in these discussions at Wesleyan seek to define the relationship as one of a personal ethic—honesty, sincerity and efficiency in serving one's client—rather than in terms of exploring the implications of faith for the whole pattern of their institutional involvements in the community. What does it mean to be a liberally educated man, to be an alumnus of a university? Perhaps it may mean continued learning and reflection on social responsibilities in varied and flexible programs of "adult education" sponsored by colleges and universities.

Once we have laymen ready to make such interpretations of their relations to the church and the university, heavy responsibilities are then placed upon the seminaries, ministers and college and university faculties to provide the place, the resources and the morale for the most rigorous and critical inspection of public life by men who are active in the public process and who wish to exercise a civic, intellectual and religious commitment.

BOOKS

THE BLACK MUSLIMS

Robert W. Spike

Anyone who has the idea that the Black Muslim movement is an insignificant handful of thugs dressed up in lodge uniforms and therefore to be discounted is surely mistaken.

He is mistaken both about the nature of the movement and its impact on the Negro community.

A most worthwhile and helpful assessment of this movement is now available in Eric Lincoln's *The Black Muslims in America* (Beacon Press, Foreword by Gordon Allport).

The Black Muslims are an expanding, well organized, brilliantly led group that claims to believe in the tenets of Islam rather than of Christianity, and beyond that to reject utterly all aspects of the "White Man and his religion." Going contrary to the traditional Islamic disregard for racial difference, they preach Black Supremacy.

There are now over 100,000 members organized into temples in all the major cities of the country. Their prophet is Muhammad X, whose headquarters is in Chicago. He has headed this sect since the Thirties, but it is only within the past decade that it has grown to such proportions. Malcolm X, the New York leader of the group, is an extremely able and politically sophisticated man.

It is true that many of the members have been recruited in prisons. What is not so well known is that the organization does an excellent job of rehabilitation. There may be many ex-thugs in the group, but a tight discipline holds them to a sober and dedicated mode of life.

Their doctrine is hair-raising. It is in every way the exact counterpart of the White Supremacy lie, and as carefully buttressed with pseudo-religious and historically distorted myths. Christianity is considered "a religion of ignominy and disgrace for the Black Man, but of great convenience and practicality for the white man" (p. 122).

Here is a sample of the teaching:

'Love thy neighbor'; I have yet to meet one white man that loved his neighbor. . . . 'Thou shalt not kill'; I have yet to meet such a Christian. . . . Where is a good Christian among this race?

. . . you fear and love [the white Christians] though you are even disgraced, beaten and killed by them, from your ministers of their slavery religion . . . down to the lowly, ignorant man in the mud. You have made yourselves the most foolish people on earth by loving and following after the ways of Slave-masters, whom Allah has revealed to me to be none other than real devils, and that their so-called Christianity is not His religion, nor

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the religion of Jesus or any other prophet of Allah (God) (p. 123).

The Muslim leadership calls for complete separation from the white man, and for righteous hatred of his ways. The final ends of the movement are always deliberately veiled. An elite guard of the strong men of the movement is always present whenever anything of importance to black welfare is at issue in the community. There have been no notable incidents of violence, but they cultivate an ominous air.

While the Federation of Islamic Associations in North America repudiate the Black Muslims, Nasser and other Middle Eastern leaders have been most cordial. Muhammad X has been allowed to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Both Black Muslims and the Arabs are fully aware of the mutual profit to be gained by their alliance, so embarrassing to the United States Government.

Muslim relationships to Negro churches and clergymen are interesting. Some of their bitterest attacks have been against the Negro minister for his pacifying role. The passive resistance movement headed by Martin Luther King seems to them to be shamefully oriented. Muslims do not want integration; they want their own independent realm within the United States, they claim.

The goal of the leadership is to have a half-million followers by 1963, and it is possible that they may come somewhere close to this figure.

Of equal importance with the threat of the movement itself is its relationship to the larger Negro

community. While repudiating the doctrine unequivocally, many responsible Negro leaders have a sympathetic understanding for the frustrations that have produced it. In fact some do not conceal their belief that this extremist group may actually help the whole country wake up to the fact that the great masses of Negro people are no longer going to wait indefinitely for the rights that belong to them as citizens.

There is a new mood of angry exasperation apparent. It is compounded of the disappointment about the slowness of the "all deliberate speed" of the 1954 Supreme Court decision and the new awareness of African independence. Many American Negroes have the mixed feeling of being both proud of the new nations in Africa and angry that after a hundred years of freedom in this country they have been passed in the full exercise of that freedom by the residents of these new nations.

Negro leaders are going through real trials these days. They sense a new anger in their people and feel it themselves. On the other hand, they are fearful of putting in jeopardy the painfully won progress they have made by irritating a complacent white citizenry by extremism.

It is in this light that the passive resistance movement, the leadership of Martin Luther King and the sit-ins have to be understood. If only the opponents of these movements could see how magnificently restrained these are in contrast to what is altogether possible in the Muslim threat!



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